

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM NATO MBFR
SUBJ: MBFR: BILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH POLISH REP JULY 21, 1978

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT LATTER'S INVITATION, US DEP REP MET WITH
POLISH REP JULY 21 FOR END-OF-ROUND REVIEW. DISCUSSION
FOCUSED ON DATA ISSUE. POLISH REP INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO
DISCUSS WITH HIS AUTHORITIES POSSIBLE WAYS OF PROVIDING MORE
DETAILED INFORMATION ON POLISH FORCES IN ORDER TO BETTER TACKLE
ISSUE OF DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN DATA ON POLISH
MILITARY PERSONNEL. END SUMMARY

2. US DEP REP RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE WAY IN WHICH POLISH
REP HAD RESPONDED TO PRESS QUESTIONS IN JULY 19 POST-PLenary
PRESS BRIEFING AS TO COMMITMENTS EAST WAS EXPECTING WESTERN DIRECT
PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US TO UNDERTAKE IN PHASE I
REGARDING PHASE II COMMITMENTS. POLISH REP INSISTED THAT HIS
STATEMENT IN PRESS CONFERENCE THAT EAST EXPECTED ONLY COMMITMENTS
ON AMOUNT AND TIMING OF REDUCTIONS HAD BEEN CORRECT RATHER
THAN DISINGENUOUS. POLISH REP SAID, THAT, IN FIRST
AGREEMENT, THE ONLY COMMITMENT WHICH THE EAST EXPECTED WESTERN
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DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US TO UNDERTAKE REGARDING
THEIR PHASE I REDUCTIONS WAS ON THE INDIVIDUAL AMOUNT OF THEIR
GROUND FORCE MANPOWER REDUCTIONS. THE EAST WOULD IN PHASE II
PROPOSE THAT THESE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS REDUCE ARMAMENTS
AND REDUCE BY UNITS. THE EAST WAS RELYING ON THE PROVISION
WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE SOVIET UNION TO WITHDRAW IF IT
WERE NOT SATISFIED AS TO THE POSITION TAKEN BY WESTERN

EUROPEAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON ARMAMENT AND UNIT REDUCTIONS, RATHER THAN ON PHASE I COMMITMENTS ON THESE TWO TOPICS.

3. POLISH REP SAID IT WOULD BE REVOKING THE EARLIER EASTERN POSITION CALLING FOR A GENERAL COMMITMENT ON AMOUNT AND TIMING IF THE EAST WERE NOW TO ASK FOR ADDITIONAL COMMITMENTS IN PHASE I. US DEP REP ASKED WHY THEN CZECHOSLOVAK REP, FOR ONE, HAD IN INFORMAL SESSION SUGGESTED THAT THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US MUST AGREE IN PRINCIPLE IN THE FIRST PHASE TO REDUCE ARMAMENTS AND TO TAKE THEIR REDUCTIONS IN UNIT FORM IF THIS WERE NOT PART OF EASTERN POSITION. FURTHERMORE, WHY HAD EASTERN REPS NOT CORRECTED WESTERN DESCRIPTIONS OF THE EASTERN POSITIONS WHICH INCLUDED REFERENCE TO STAGE 1 COMMITMENTS ON REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND REDUCTION IN UNITS?

4. POLISH REP REPLIED TO FIRST QUESTION TO THE EFFECT THAT EASTERN REPS SOMETIMES GOT CARRIED AWAY BY THEIR OWN ORATORY WHEN COMPOSING THEIR TALKING POINTS. HE DID NOT ANSWER SECOND QUESTION.

5. US DEP REP SAID HE FOUND UNCONVINCING POLISH REP'S ANSWER TO PRESS INQUIRY IN JULY 19 PRESS BRIEFING AS TO WHY EASTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD WAITED FIVE YEARS TO ANNOUNCE THEIR AGREEMENT TO MANPOWER PARITY. POLISH REP'S RESPONSE HAD BEEN TO THE EFFECT THAT THE EAST HAD ACCEPTED MANPOWER PARITY FROM THE OUTSET AND THAT THE PRESENT EASTERN MOVE WAS TO ACCEPT THE SECRET

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PRECISE SIZE OF REDUCTIONS AND OF RESIDUAL CEILINGS PROPOSED BY THE WEST. THIS WAS STRETCHING IT THIN. US DEP REP REMINDED POLISH REP THAT, IN POLISH REP'S PRESENCE, A POLISH OFFICIAL SEVERAL YEARS EARLIER HAD STATED TO US REPS THAT THE EAST WAS NOT WILLING TO PROVIDE DATA ON WARSAW PACT FORCES BECAUSE THIS DATA WOULD DEMONSTRATE THAT THE EAST HAD MORE MEN THAN THE WEST AND THE EAST WOULD CONSEQUENTLY HAVE TO REDUCE MORE.

6. POLISH REP RESPONDED THAT EASTERN REPS HAD NOT KNOWN THE ACTUAL FACTS EARLIER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS; HENCE THEY HAD HAD TO IMPROVISE (COMMENT: THIS POINT WAS ALONG LINES OF TARASOV'S POINT TO US REP IN JUNE 22 CONVERSATION BUT LESS SPECIFIC). POLISH REP THEN SAID THAT WARSAW TREATY REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA WERE DEPENDENT ON THEIR NATIONAL AUTHROTIES FOR THE FIGURES GIVEN. THEY HAD NO DIRECT ACCESS TO THE FACTS THEMSELVES.

7. US DEP REP SAID THERE WAS A LARGE DISCREPANCY IN POLISH FIGURES. IT WAS THE FIRM WESTERN VIEW THAT POLISH FIGURES WERE NOT COMPLETE. PRESUMABLY, THE POLES HAD OMITTED FROM THEIR FIGURES SOME CATEGORIES OF PERSONNEL WHICH THE WEST HAD INCLUDED. POLISH REP SHOULD MAKE EFFORT TO GO INTO THIS FURTHER ON RETURN TO WARSAW AND TO SEE WHETHER THIS WAS NOT THE

CASE. POLES SHOULD REVEAL THE OMITTED CATEGORIES AND ISSUE OF WHETHER THEIR EXCLUSION WAS JUSTIFIED COULD THEN BE DISCUSSED.

8. POLISH REP SAID HE THOUGHT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION IN THE POLISH DELEGATION AND, HE THOUGHT, POSSIBLY IN WARSAW, AS REGARDS THE STATUS OF SOME CATEGORIES OF POLISH FORCES. OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, VARIOUS UNITS HAD BEEN MOVED BACK AND FORTH FROM THE SUBORDINATION UNDER THE DEFENSE MINISTRY TO SUBORDINATION UNDER THE INTERIOR MINISTRY, AND VICE-VERSA. BUT HE FOUND A GENERAL RELUCTANCE IN WARSAW TO GO INTO DETAIL ON SUCH TOPICS BECAUSE THERE WAS A FEELING THAT THE PERSON THAT HAD TO EXPLAIN HIS ACTIONS WOULD BE CONSIDERED GUILTY AND BLAMED. US DEP REP SAID IT WAS NOT THE INTENTION OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO PLACE ANY BLAME IN THIS ISSUE.

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BUT IT WAS IN INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES TO GET AGREEMENT ON THE FACTS. MERELY DOING SO WOULD BE A GREAT STEP FORWARD IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. POLISH REP SHOULD CONSIDER HOW THIS ISSUE COULD BE TACKLED MOST EFFICIENTLY.

9. POLISH REP SAID HE WISHED THERE WAS SOME OTHER WAY THAT THE POLES COULD PROVIDE MORE DETAILS OTHER THAN IN FORM OF MORE DETAILED NUMBERS. THERE WAS SENSITIVITY AGAINST THIS IN WARSAW, PARTLY BECAUSE OF SENSITIVITY TO REVEALING THAT SOME POLISH FORCES WERE IN A LOW DEGREE OF PREPAREDNESS. US DEP REP SAID THAT, OVER THE PAST 25 YEARS, WEST HAD GAINED A FAIRLY CLEAR IDEA THAT VARIOUS POLISH DIVISIONS WERE IN DIFFERENT STATES OF READINESS. POLES WOULD NOT BE REVEALING ANYTHING NOT KNOWN IN DISCUSSING SUCH A TOPIC. POLISH REP SAID THERE WAS A CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WESTERN AWARENESS OF THESE FACTS ABOUT THE POLISH STATE OF READINESS AND THE POLES ACTUALLY SAYING SO THEMSELVES.

10. US DEP REP POINTED OUT THAT WESTERN REPS HAD ALREADY GIVEN EASTERN REPS A LIST OF THE TYPES OF UNITS INCLUDED IN POLISH GROUND FORCES. THIS TOOK A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO THE DISCUSSION RATHER THAN A NUMERICAL ONE. POLISH REP COULD INVESTIGATE THIS ROUTE FOR PROVIDING FURTHER INFORMATION. OR POLES COULD PROVIDE LIST OF FUNCTION AND LOCATION OF THEIR UNITS WITHOUT GIVING THE STRENGTH OR OFFICIAL DESIGNATION OF EACH OF THE UNITS. POLISH REP SAID HE THOUGHT THE FIRST COURSE, DISCUSSION OF FUNCTION, WAS A POSSIBILITY. BUT WARSAW AUTHORITIES WOULD BE TOO SENSITIVE TO CONSIDER SECOND POSSIBILITY. US DEP REP SAID IN ANY CASE, SOME WAY MUST BE FOUND TO REVIEW POLISH FORCES, PARTICULARLY THOSE THAT COULD BE OR HAD BEEN SWITCHED BETWEEN INTERIOR AND DEFENSE MINISTRY. POLISH REP SAID, IN THEORY, HE AGREED, BUT THERE WOULD ALSO BE SENSITIVITY ABOUT DISCUSSING THE EXCLUDED POLISH ORGANIZATIONS IN ANY DEGREE OF DETAIL. US DEP REP SAID

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HE DID NOT SEE WHY THERE SHOULD BE SENSITIVITY ON THIS. THE WEST DID NOT INTEND TO REOPEN THE EXCLUSIONS ISSUE IF THE EAST ADHERED TO ITS PART OF THE INFORMAL BARGAIN. THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO CLARIFY THE POLISH FIGURES, PARTICULARLY IN THIS GREY ZONE BETWEEN ACTIVE DUTY FORCES AND EXCLUDED PERSONNEL. POLISH REP SAID HE RECOGNIZED POTENTIAL USEFULNESS OF SUCH APPROACH.

11. ALLUDING TO REMARKS BY TARASOV TO UK REP IN CONVERSATION ON JULY 14 IN WHICH POLISH REP HAD ALSO PARTICIPATED, POLISH REP ASKED WHETHER THERE WAS ANY SUBSTANCE IN TARASOV'S ALLEGATION THAT THOUGHT WAS BEING GIVEN IN THE US TO WITHDRAWING THE WESTERN OFFER TO REDUCE US NUCLEAR WARHEADS BECAUSE OF CONNECTION WITH THE ENHANCED RADIATION WARHEAD. US DEP REP SAID HE HAD RESPONDED TO THIS POINT IN THE JULY 19 PLENARY SESSION THAT NO DECISION HAD BEEN MADE TO PRODUCE THE ER WARHEAD. HE CONTINUED THAT TARASOV HAD APPARENTLY BASED HIS INCORRECT CONCLUSION ON PRESS REPORTS CONCERNING US SENATE CONSIDERATION OF MODERNIZATION OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS IN OTHER REGARDS.

12. COMMENT: POLISH REP WAS PARTICULARLY FRANK IN THIS DISCUSSION, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS DATA. CONSEQUENTLY, THE NOFORN CLASSIFICATION SHOULD BE RETAINED.

13. ON BASIS OF PAST PERFORMANCES, WE BELIEVE POLISH REP WILL IN FACT RAISE "GREY ZONE" ISSUE WHEN HE RETURNS TO WARSAW FOR CONSULTATION. IN PAST, HOWEVER, HE HAS BEEN TURNED DOWN BY WARSAW ON DATA ISSUES, SO PROSPECT OF RESULTS IS UNCERTAIN. IN ANY EVENT, IT WILL BE NOTED THAT HE MADE NO STATEMENT THAT POLISH DATA WERE CORRECT. DEAN

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